to lay down office, patronage, power, yea, even their

lives, if need be, to save their country? I will believe it.
There are those, however, Mr. Chairman, whom I do not expect to reach by any appeal of mine—who, like Ephraim of old, are joined to their idols, and devoted to the iniquity of their ways. To them I offer no persuasion-I offer no argument-I offer only the pity or rebuke which their conduct deserves. And without wishing to be at all personal, the first of these, and one of the most conspicuous of the number, to which I shall allude, is the member from Pennsylvania, Mr. Wilmot. And what of him and his course? He came here a few years ago a Representative from a Democratic district in Pennsylvania-professing himself to be a Democrat, and acting with the Democratic party; and as such, he was hailed by that party and received into their confidence, and fellowship. Soon after he had taken his seat here, he was called on to vote against the protective system, and in favor of a revenue tariff. He responded to the eall, voting in the affirmative, for which he was much applanded by those who approved of his vote. But what followed? The colleagues of the gentleman from Pennsylvania voted oppositely to him upon the same question, and his State was understood to be opposed to the policy of his vote. He became alarmed for the consequence-I will not say for his seat-and rushed upon a new expedient to save himself. That expedient was the anti-slavery proviso, in the noise and commotion of which he has found a temporary escape.

Nor does the gentleman deserve any great credit for the originality of this expedient; for it is a part of the tradition of this proviso that it was the pestiferous offspring of a cabal of political malcontents who, after projecting or preparing it, placed it in the hands of one of their number, who became agent as well as conspirator, and moved it in the House of Representatives. Other men might have done the same long before, but they would not rashly and needlessly endanger the peace of the country. Jellerson had said that there was one question above all others, which might threaten danger to the Union-that was slavery-which, when once stirred, would excite the same alarms and commotions as the sound of a fire-bell in the night time in a populous eity; and prudent and patriotic men, entertaining the same opinion, forbore, religiously forbore, to agitate it—
to fire this magazine of discord and danger. It was reserved for the gentleman from Pennsylvania to disregard all these admonitions and considerations, and to signalize his notoriety by an act emulated, if not equaled by that of the incendiary of the Ephesian temple.

But, sir, what are the circumstances under which the gentleman from Pennsylvania brought forward this fasesses either under the Constitution or the laws of humanity, to entitle it to the authority of a new political test, or its author to the rank of a reformer and henefactor? This is the question I propose now to consider, and I doubt not my exposition of it will be as curious to the uninitiated, as it should be unwelcome and overwhelming to the gentleman from Pennsylvania. What, I repeat, are the circumstances under which the proviso was introduced? The President of the United States, after our armies had beaten the Mexicans, and brought them to feel the necessity of doing us justice, asked of Congress, in August, 1846, an appropriation of two millions of dollars to enable him to hasten the negotiation of a treaty which should save the effusion of blood, and secure to the United States such indemnity in territory to be acquired from Mexico as might be just and right.* To the bill which was offered for this purpose, the gentleman from Pennsylvania moved the following amendment, which was first adopted in committee of the whole upon the state of the Union, and afterwards concurred in and passed by the House:

"Provided, That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the Unned States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Exscutive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.35†

I voted against this amendment, and I scarcely need add, that it defeated the bill to which it was attached in the Senate. This was probably expected and desired by many of those who voted for the amendment in the House. It not only defeated the bill to which it was attached, but, by introducing discord and division into our national councils, it encouraged the common enemy to prolong the war. And that prolongation of the war multiplied and aggravated the evils and horrors of war. It caused the battle-field to be fatted with blood and carnage-it doomed patriotic and aspiring men to perish by lingering and wasting disease in a foreign land-it rob. ed wives of their husbands, and children of their fathe s. It realized to us the full measure of-

"Pelides' wrath, whence woes on woes O'er the Achean's gathered host arose; Her chief's brave souls untimely hurled from day, And left their limbs to dogs and birds a prey."

Nor was its influence less pernicious and hostile to the cause of human freedom. The slaveholding states and slaveholding communities of the Union, whilst left free to obey the generous impulses of humanity, unbiassed by apprehensions or resentments, were moving on with ac-celerated pace in the noble work of amelioration and emancipation. Slaves were well fed and well clad-on portunities for recreation and for acquiring property for themselves were allowed them. Schools and churches were encouraged and supported for their religious in-struction—funds were furnished and colonization societies were authorized by the states, for the purpose of elevating and relieving their condition. Such, in short, was the progress of slave amelioration and slave emancipation, under the benign laws of God and humanity-such were the triamphs of human volition-of Christian grace in the noble cause of philanthropy. But what has followed the officious and vicarious intermeddling of the gentleman from Pennsylvania in favor of the slave class? He has roused sectional jealousies and provoked sec-tional recriminations—he has opposed the motive of interest and the instinct of self-preservation to the chari-ties of religion and the sentiment of liberty—he has con-verted peace and concord into strife and hatred—he has armed the slaveholder to defend with his life what had inspired his sympathies, and what he was almost willing if not ready, to sucrender. Alas! he has converted the cause of numerative and of religion into an angry question of political power and of sectional and self-preservation and honor. Ite has done all this, and is responsible before God and man for it. Stand forth now, thou man of the proviso, and answer to the charge brought against thee! Guilty or not guilty! Weigh in the scales thy noisy and frantic agitations in regard to slavery against the mountain weight of thy evil doing, and behold aghast the

But what, sir, would have been the legal effect of this proviso, if any, if it had been enacted by Congress? Certainly most pernicious. First, it would have crippled and intrenened upon the treaty-making power by limiting and constraining the rightful discretion of the President and Senate in regard to the terms and conditions of the treaty to be made-virtually declaring that no treaty, such as was contemplated, should be made. except according to the dictation of the law-making power. Second, it would have been a flagrant atthek upon State sovereignty by interdicting, per se, or through the agency of the treaty-making power, the toleration of slavery in any State to be formed out of the territory to be acquired. Next, it would have continued the war until two-thirds of the Senators should have been brought to concur in a treaty containing an interdict against onehaif of the States of the Union and one-half of the whole number of Senators; or, otherwise, have forced us to ahandon the war, and with it our right of indemus to ahandon the war, and with it our right of indemnity against Mexico. Next, any treaty incorporating it, would have worked, in good faith and by its terms, a forfeiture of the territory acquired under it, upon the introduction of slavery into such territory. In short, it would have violated the Constitution, crippled the treaty-making power, aggressed upon the rights of the States, invited foreign and even inimical intervention in our domestic affairs, and in fine, would have involved us in infinite difficulty and ridicule. Such, sirs, is the character of the gentleman's proviso; and such would have been its operation, both constitutional and practical, as a law. I accord to him all the glory of its authorship.

But we are told that the proviso was the hallowed means of rescuing our extensive and valuable territories from the blighting spread of slavery. How so, sir? We know that slavery has not spread at all during the existence of this Government. On the contrary, it has contracted the sphere of its existence, and in many pla-

contracted the sphere of its existence, and in many pla-ces totally or virtually disappeared. It has so disap-peared in seven out of the twelve States in which it ex-

isted contemporateously with the formation of this Government. It has disappeared in the six new States of the Northwest, and is lingering only in Maryland and Virginia, and probably in Kentucky and Missouri, to disappear there at no very distant day. It is an institu-tion or relation of force, recognized by habit and pre-scription, which must sooner or later disappear wherever it exists, under the progressive operation of benignant causes. Like many other evils it must sooner or later correct itself. And may I not ask whether it was not in the spirit of this divine truth that the holy Apostle of Christ taught the familiar precepts:

"Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to "And ye masters, do the same things into them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him."

I think, sir, I may safely say that our experience has verified the wisdom of these admonitions. It certainly has proved, beyond reasonable doubt, that the best friend of the bondman is he who inculeates order and cultivates fraternal feelings and intercourse between the different sections of the country; and that his worst enjealousies and recriminations. This is a notorious fact and should confound and condemn the political Aboli-tionists of the day—the pseudo friends of the slave. It

proves that they are guilty of the very charges which they have so recklessly heaped upon others.

But, sir, to approach the question still more nearly, what has the proviso, in fact, done to secure our present territories against slavery? Has it done anything? I maintain not. On the contrary, it has done infinite harm, and no good; and I appeal to authentic facts for the truth of this assertion. First, after having been moved by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, under the circumstances, and with the effects already stated, it was moved next by the gentleman from New York, (Mr. Preston King.) This was in January, 1847, when it defeated all attempts during that session of Congress to extend civil government to the territories then conquered from Mexico and held by our arms. Next, it appeared to defeat all similar attempts for the same object in 1848; and, unfortunately, it still survives, to thwart our ciforts in the seventh month of the present session, for the same object. As a perturbed and damned spirit, it still haunts the public mind, and paralyzes our public councils. It refused to the people of California permission to erect that territory into a State, under the plea that slavery would be tolerated by it; yet California, now applies to Congress for admission into the Union, prohibiting slavery. It has refused, and continues to refuse, to the people of the territories, civil government without the anti-slavery interdiet, while it insists that the Mexican law is still in force in those territories which contains that interdict. It declaims against "man's inhumanity to man," while it unblushingly refuses government to the territories, and leaves our fellow citizens inhabiting them a prey to savage warfare and cruelty. Every courier from New Mexico and California brings us intelligence of incursions made, towns sacked, herds driven off, men murdered, and women and children carried into captivity; yet the Wilmot proviso, as an incarnate demon, stands unmoved, and even gloats, with demoniae joy, at the moving tale.

But, sir, there is another actor, of no mean preten sions, in this angry drama, who deserves to be noticedwhom it would be ungracious if I did not notice. - I refer to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Winthrop.) I offer my respects to that gentleman, with the more promptness now, because, during the last session of Congress, the then Speaker of the House refused me all opportunity to do so; and with still more promptness since, in the change of circumstances, favors, however small, may be more acceptable to him. What, I ask, are the graces of that gentleman's part in this anti-slavery drama, and how did he bear them? It may not be unprofitable to inquire. In February, 1845, while the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon was under consideration, he of-Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and was afterwards concurred in and passed by the House:

"Provided however, That there shall neither be slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

This amendment was moved under extraordinary circumstances, which stamp it with a most significant character. It was moved when the British Hudson's Bay Company had extended their settlements over the northern half of Oregon, quite to the Columbia river, and had armed their trading posts and extended their forts throughout the whole territory, apparently for the purpose of restraining and overawing the American settlements, and in violation of the spirit of the treaty of joint occupancy, renewed with England in 1827. It was moved when the American settlers and traders were without law, and were left at great disadvantage with the members and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose organization and discipline were most effi-cient and admirable—when our brethren in Oregon, who had planted our flag upon the distant shores of the Pa-cific, had often asked for law, but in vain, and were exposed to the sanguinary cruelties of savage hordes for the want of governmental protection. Yes, it was moved under these urgent circumstances and for the very purpose of defeating the "Oregon bill." The gen-tleman dare not deny it—he admits it.

Next, in June, 1846, the Oregon treaty was concluded, and the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude adopted as the boundary between the possessions of the United States and Great Britain in the northwest; and with the treaty, the President transmitted a message, urging Congress to organize a government in Oregon without delay. But the storm was now up and it could not be quelled, the fire was now kindled and it could not be quenched. A bill was brought forward to establish a government in Oregon, in conformity with the recommendation of the President; but the proviso-the Win-throp proviso, was fastened upon it in the House, and strangled it in the Senate. The same thing recurred in 1847, and would have recurred again in 1848 with the vote of the gentleman from Massachusetts, but for the almost superhuman efforts of one man, the distinguished Senator from Missouri, (Mr. Benton,) who, amidst one of the most exciting and memorable parliamentary seenes on record, marshalled its way through the Senate, almost in the very last moment of the session expiring on the 14th of August, 1848.

This, sir, is the history of the "Winthrop proviso," of which the contleman from Massachusetts boasts that he is the author. And thus we see that it eruelly withheld from the people of Oregon the protection of our laws and arms, for more than three years; and in truth, until the exigency of an Indian war and a courier crossing the Rocky Mountains and the intervening plains, more than two thousand miles, amidst snow and ice, brought us the startling and urgent intelligence of that event.

And even then the pathetic and bleeding appeals of our fellow citizens in Oregon, were only answered, after a contest, in which the gentleman from Massachusetts bore no very heroic part, and which shook the Capitol to its very foundations.

And what good did the proviso do after it was passed None, sir. The gentleman has argued as though it kept slavery out of Oregon; but he is mistaken. The law of God kept it out; so said Colonel Benton and others at the very time they voted for the Oregon proviso, and so declare common sense and common experience. And what is more, and should have been known to the gentleman from Massachusetts, the people of Oregon them-selves, acting in conformity with these dictates, had prohibited it by voluntary law-first in 1841, next in 1843, and again 1845, by their territorial constitution, afterward ratified by Congress in August, 1848. So, sir, the gentleman from Massachusetts stand forth unexcused for his proviso. Like its baleful offspring, the "Wilmot proviso," it was uncalled for either by reason or necessity, but was condemned by both. History will record its mischiefs, while the afflictions of our people in Ore-gon and the dismemberment of that territory, together with its abortive puerility to prevent slavery, will for-ever stamp its real character. Let this, also, as the gentleman from Massachusetts says, stand in "perpetuam memoriam rei."

Again; if it be true, as contended by the gentleman that the Mexican law surviving the conquest of our territories, inhibits slavery in those territories, why does he not abide by his opinion? Why would he superflu-ously re-enact that which is already in force, and that, too, under circumstances characterizing the measure as an insult and outrage upon a large portion of the Union? I ask why would be do this? For myself, entertaining the same opinion advanced by the gentleman, I am willing and ready, in view of all the circumstances of the case, o waive the proviso in regard to our territories. Havto waive the proviso in regard to our territories. Having an opinion, sir, I am willing to respect it—to stand upon it—and I doubt not that a large majority of the people of the United States sympathize with me in this course. I am quite certain that a large majority of the people of Illinois will do so, notwithstanding the counter authority of other high places. If I wanted any proof of this fact, I need only refer to my colleagues, five out of the seven of whom vote against the proviso, and as I have sufficient reason to believe in conformity with the wishes of their patriotic constituencies.

wishes of their patriotic constituencies.

I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts that we should admit California into the Union as a State, and that we owe to New Mexico and Utah the protection of our laws. I agree to all this; and precisely because I do agree to it I am ready and anxious to provide for the whole category at once. The gentleman, however, is opposed to this; he would admit California, but would withhold eivil government from the territories; and why would he do so? I repeat, why would he do so? This is the question. Is it because the approval or the disapproval of the proviso, under a constitutional necessity, would expose the fraud of the late presidential election, impale President Taylor, and explode and disgrace the Whig party? Is it because the gentleman has found the proviso to be growing unpopular, and would, therefore, abandon it? Or, rather, is it because

* Vide his speech in the House of Representatives, May 8, 1850.

sted, and the public at large to decide.

Massachusetts and other leading proviso Whigs, includ-ling the able gentleman from New York, Mr. Duer, but than treason on the other. eloquent and patriotic friend from Tennessee, Mr. Ewing, has victoriously answered this question. He led the vanguard of opposition to this driveling policy, and has left me but little to do or to say. It would probably be enough to add, that this policy is condemned by the character of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is signalated in the preceding article, shall be incorp rated into the United States, and Le admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of the United States are of the United States are of the United States are of the United States. Whig party, Mr. Clay, and by the anti-proviso branch of that party; and that no Democrat has been yet heard to say that he was in favor of it. I repeat, sir, that this probably would be enough to impeach its merits, and to equire of its advocates other and better arguments in avor of it than have been yet advanced.

and which we should not avoid if we could, under the ircumstances. We bound ourselves by the same treaty, as one of the conditions of this acquisition, to restrain and punish the predatory and marderous incursions of the savages located within or upon the borders of New Mexico, into the Mexican settlements. We did more, sir; we bound ourselves, "in order to give the fullest possible efficacy" to this stipulation, to "pass without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject" should "require." Have we fulfilled these obligations? and is there not an imperious urgency that we should do so? Who can doubt Apaches, Utahs, Southern Utahs, Navijoes, Camanches, Cayugas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes—some ten Indian ribes, numbering some forty thousand souls, located within or upon the borders of New Mexico, whose habits and characters are all more or less treacherous, prelatory, and sanguinary, still continue their hostile and afflictive incursions into the Mexican settlements. This is what we hear-this is what we know. Now, shall we not act-promptly act-to arrest these evils, to re-deem our plighted faith, to acquit our gaged honor.

which is on our tables, informs us that anarchy has prevailed there to an alarming extent since the expiration of the Mexican authority in that territory. They say—
"That the revolver and bowie-knife have been the highest law of "non-action policy"—having shown that the one is use-

We learn, too, from the memorial of the people of New Mexico, attached to the journal of their proceedings in convention, which is also in our possession, what should almost freeze our blood and cause the hair on our if not by one act, by several acts; but still in the shortheads to stand erect. They say:

"For the last three years we have suffered under the paralyzing ficient to protect the rights of the people, or to discharge the high your experience and valuable counsel.) I have prepared

dian agent in New Mexico that he was waited on at Santa Fe by a deputation from Zunia, who complained bitterly of the cruelties of the Navijoes. They stated, "that wheresoever they went they were under the necessity of going guarded and armed, and that they had to watch their horses, replace and characteristics." to watch their horses, mules, and sheep during every hour of the twenty-four." They added, "that there were five hundred and fifty-five able-bodied men in their village, and only thirty-two fire-arms, and less than twenty pounds of ammunition;" and "asked for arms and ammunition and "asked for arms" and "asked for arms and ammunition and "asked for arms and ammunition and "asked for arms" and "asked for arms and ammunition and "asked for arms" and "asked for arms and ammunition and "asked for arms" an

wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the confines of New Mexico. We have since learned that Mrs. White, the lady referred to, perished among the Indians.

should leave it to time and chance to remedy these ills, to staunch these bleeding wounds of our fellow-citizens? Who will hold up his head and say so? Who dare say so? None, sir, I fain would believe. And much less should they say so who fulminated their thunders against the late President as a usurper and tyrant, for enforcing military law in the conquered territories during the war.

All such are now called on in conjucted to clevate and enough markind. The mighty All such are now called on, in consistency and good faith struggle to elevate and ennoble mankind. The mighty to unite in giving civil law to our fellow-citizens in these territories in time of peace. I call upon them, one and all, to do so; and particularly upon my friend from Geor-gia, Mr. Stephens, whose eloquent denunciations are almost still lingering in my ears.

There are other considerations, sir, of grave and weighty character, and not a few in number, which call on us for action. First, we promised the people of the on us for action. First, we promised the people of the conquered territories—I mean those who were Mexicans—that we would extend to them the benefits and protection of the destruction of the existing political parties, and tion of our laws and Government without delay—that we would improve, not injure their condition. This was one of the inducements formally held forth by the Government to the Mexicans to submit to our arms and authority; and to a people who had been neglected and injured by collisions. The destruction of the existing political parties, and the erection of geographical parties on their ruins—arraying one section of the Union against the other in angry and irreconcilable strife and hatred. This would be the first step towards disunion; indeed, it would be in itself a moral disruption of the Union, ultimately to be injured by military rulers, as the people of New Mexico and California had been, it may not have been without influence. In conformity with this policy, General Kear-ny, after taking Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, issued a preclamation, of which the following is an ex-

we did not. Who are this class? They are brave men object to a seasonable pacification. and patriotic—they have sturdy arms and adventurous Again, sir; in the event of the loss of the territories spirits; their like never before existed in any other counin question, a still more important result would follow.

try. They are the men whose ancestors and similitude California would immediately declare her independence. kindled the sacred fire of liberty and civilization upon and eventually uniting with Oregon, would form the Plymouth Rock and at Jamestown, and its lambent flame more extended Republic of the Pacific. This event has spread from ocean to ocean. Forcing and fighting would be followed, if not preceded, by the absorption of their way through the wilderness, and among savage hordes, they have founded States, and marked the limits of an empire of surpassing grandeur and glory. Scaling the glaciers of the Rocky Mountains, they have planted our flag upon the distant shores of the Columbian control of the conquest and addition of that Republic to her young and aspiring neighbor. With these, or with a part of these extended dominions, our disowned and neglected bia. They have conquered Texas, and added it to the Union; they have found their way into New Mexico and California, in the fulfilment of a singular and romantic bia river, the great bay of San Francisco, the unsurdestiny; and shall we not extend to them the ægis of our laws and Constitution? Shall we not follow them with our protection? Shall we, Ch, shall we unfeelingly and criminally abandon them—this vanguard of liberty—these hardy pioneers—these gods of our terminus? And

policy would speak with a forked tongue, professing to resort, by the agonizing victim of his cruelty. And shall be both for and against it; and prove itself to be so, by de- it be said, that the American name is a less potent claim lining to vote either one way or the other-in short, by to justice and right, and that, too, from our own Gov-non-action?" Whether this is the fact, and whether erument? This, indeed, would be too bad. No, sir, let his would not be an unworthy double-dealing- an un- the American citizen feel, wherever he may be, that the manly skulking from just responsibility-whether, in flag of his country will afford him protection; that its short, it would not be a criminal compromise of con-science with interest. I leave for those immediately inter-him with both beak and talons, and his heart will swell with manly pride, and his hand and blood will ever be a Yes, sir, non-action upon the territorial questions is ready offering in her cause. Protection on the part of mot only the expedient embraced by the gentleman from Government is the price of allegiance on the part of the

it also comes recommended to us as a substantive policy by the President himself. He so recommends it in his by treaty to provide without delay for the people of those message of the 21st of January last, now under consid- Territories. What is the provision of the treaty with eration. And what, sir, of this policy thus formidably Mexico in this respect? It is not vague, it is not inferaspicated? Is it either just, or manly, or wise? My ential-it is express and positive. It is in the follow-

Now, sir, have we fulfilled this stipulation—have we incorporated the citizens of the United States in those But I will not stop here—I will go further and appeal Federal Constitution? or have we "maintained and pro-Territories into the Union upon the principles of the But I will not stop here—I will go lurine and appear to the arbitrament of truth and reason itself to condemn it. And looking abroad over the whole question, what do we find to be the state of the case? After a victorial to the free exercise of their religion without rest, aint? ons war with Mexico, we concluded a treaty of peace Who will say so? None will be so hardy. And if not with that Republic, by which we acquired a vast territory, extending from the Pacific more than two thouton, what must be the consequence? Unavoidably we sand miles to the border of Texas, including New Mexico and Upper California, with an area, according to one calculation, of six hundred and fifty-one thousand square calculation, of six hundred and fifty-one thousand square miles. With this territory came also a specific obligaone of them to break its engagements and forfeit it olighted faith with impunity. The Plateans promised to restore the Theban prisoners, but restored them after putting them to death; and all posterity have denounced the treachery and cruelty of their conduct.

Now, shall we only abate the enormity of this example, not by slaughtering the people of New Mexico ourselves, but by leaving them to be slaughtered by the savage hordes who surround them? I trust not. Treaties are sacred things-they are the only means, short of appealing to the sword, to adjust the differences between States and communities who have no superiors on mon the subject? We understand that the Jicarillas, of nations, and therefore concern the welfare of the whole human race. Let no unhallowed hand be laid upon them-let them not be treated lightly, much less by a Republic claiming to be based upon good faith and justice, and which should ever pride itself for the observance of these noble qualities. As a generous conquer-or, it becomes us to study and relieve the condition of those whom the fortune of war has placed in our power. Policy dictates this, duty demands it; for, in truth, it is only by such treatment that the tremendous evil inflicted Again, sir, what do we hear from the people inhabiting our newly acquired territories? The memorial of the people of Descret or Utah, assembled in convention, slander, this reproach which is implied, if not professed,

That the revolver and over-the land; the strong have prevailed against the weak; while person, property, character, and religion have been unaided, and virtue unprotected."

Into revolver and showle that the other is used to be a solution pointy—naving showle that the other is used to be and protected."

Into revolver and showle that the other is used to be a solution pointy—naving showle the showle that the other is used to be a solution pointy—naving showle the showle that the other is used to be a solution pointy For one, sir, I have no hesitation upon this subject; I say, admit California and provide governments for the Territories at once and conjointly by the same act; and est time possible. This is my opinion and my advice, and this will be my course. In conformity with this fects of a government undefined and doubtful in its character, iner. | view (and it is due to you, sir, to say, with the aid of felient to protect the rights of the people, or to discharge the high and absolute duty of every Government, the enforcement and regular administration of its own laws, in consequence of which industry and enterprise are paralyzed, and discontent and confusin prevail throughout the land. The want of proper protection against the various burbarous tribes of Indians that surround us on every side, has prevented the extension of settlements upon our valuable public domain, and rendered utterly futile every attempt to explore or develop the great resources of the territory. Surrounded by the Eutaws, Carmanches, and Apaches, on the north, east, and south, by the Navigoes on the west, with Jicarillas within our limits, and without any adequate protection against their hostile inroads—our faceks and herds are driven off by thousands, our feilow-citizens—men, women, and children—are murdered or carried into captivity. Many of our citizens of all ages and sexes are at this moment suffering all the horrors of barbarian bendage, and it is utterly out of our power to obtain their release from a condition to which death would be preferable. The wealth of our territory is being dimnished. We have neither the means nor any adopted plan by government for the education of the rising generation. In fine, with a government for the education of the rising generation. In fine, with a government for the education of the rising generation. In fine, with a government for the education of the rising generation. In fine, with a government emporately the first of the northern boundary of Texas. Such are the provisions and objects of the bill, and no more. This bill is printed, and is now upon our tables. I am prepared to vote for it in its present form, or with the enactment of the laws in force in those Territories, so far as they are not incompatible with the Constitution and laws of the United States and the rights of perferable. The wealth of our territory is being dimnished. We have not incompatible with the class of the United Stat But, sir, this is not all. The proofs multiply at every step. It was only lately that we learned from our In-

twenty pounds of ammunition," and "asked for arms and ammunition, and permission to make a war of extermination against the Navijoes."

Nor is it long since our ears and hearts were afflicted with the moans of a party of our fellow-citizens who were murdered, and with the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed wife who was taken captive by the Apaches, near the lamentations of a widowed with the lamenta Such, sir, is the condition—such the exposure, the sufferings, the cruel afflictions of the people inhabiting the territories. Now, shall it be said that we shall fold our arms and do nothing—that we shall not act—that we should leave it to time and a such as the condition—such the exposure, the sufferings, the cruel afflictions of the people inhabiting the territories. Now, shall it be said that we shall fold our arms and do nothing—that we shall not act—that we should leave it to time and the condition—such the exposure, the sufferings, the cruel afflictions of the people inhabiting the territories. Now, shall it be said that we shall fold our arms and do nothing—that we shall not act—that we should leave it to time and the condition—such the exposure, the sufferings, the cruel afflictions of the people inhabiting the territories. Now, shall it be said that we shall fold our arms and do nothing—that we shall not act—that we ers allotted me a far more limited view is allowed; and

followed by armed efforts to widen the breach into a per-

manent political and physical one.

The next consequence would probably be the abandonment of our territories acquired from Mexico, which would be almost certainly followed by a collision between Texas and New Mexico. And in the event of such a collision, what part could we take? Sho "It is the wish and intention of the United States to provide for New Mexico a free government, with the least possible delay, similar to those in the other territories of the United States; and the people of New Mexico will then be called on to exercise the rights of freemen in electing their own representatives to the territorial legisand property in that territory, in obedience both to the Constitution and our treaty with Mexico? Which alter-And the same proclamation, in terms, was made by General Kearny in California, and substantially by Commodore Stockton at an earlier date.

Besides this, sir, we owe it to our countrymen who have emigrated to those distant territories, to afford them government. It would be a shame, and ungrateful, if

these hardy pioneers—these gods of our terminus? And if not they, shall we abandon the gallant men who assisted in conquering those territories, the Mormon battalion, whom we enlisted on their way to California, and the New York regiment, whom we likewise discharged, the first with, and the latter without arms, in California? I leave it to the moral sense of Christians and law-givers to decide.

It was the prond boast of the Roman citizen that the name of his country was a potent claim to respect and justice in every land; it was this magic invocation that caused the persecutors of Paul and Silas to tremble, and hasten to deliver them from the Macedonian prison; it was this invocation—I am a Roman citizen—that was

was this invocation—I am a Roman citizen—that was addressed to Verres, the tyrant of Syracuse, in the last of Vide Communication from J. S. Calbona, Indian Agent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 29, 1849.

† Vide Proclamation, August 22, 1846.

† Vide Proclamation, August 17, 1846.

† Vide Proclamation, August 17, 1846.

and most frantic dreams that ever was indulged by a heated and distempered brain. No! God himself has decreed otherwise. He has joined us together by a common launo; not until the mighty rivers and the inland seas,

side, and the Pacific ocean on the other, are compre-hended its great geographical divisions, to which its po-litical divisions would naturally conform under a new order of things. Yes, there would be an Atlantic and a formed) has well rewarded the husbandman, the crop Pacific republic, also an intervening republic, the largest of the three, holding the Mississippi river and the Gulf of Mexico, and insisting upon free egress and ingress by

grant that they may never be realized. I have only pursued them so far, in answer to the fatal delusion, the insensate idea of peaceable disunion. I turn from the horror of the picture which disunion would conjure up; I turn from it with alacrity and delight, to the brighter and more real prospect of union—this glorious and the prospect of union—this glorious and the prospect of union—this glorious and the prospect of union—this glo happy Union as it is, administered in the spirit of the Constitution, and to be guarded and perpetuated forever, as a priceless legacy to posterity and as a beacon of Hope to mankind throughout the world.

Informatic, besides which there are a large number of small mills engaged in manufacturing for home consumption. Thus it appears that there are produced monthly in Chili some 50,000 to 55,000 barrels of superfine flour for export, all of which must find markets in

Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea! Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears Are all with thee-are all with thee!"

> Funeral Ceremonies. WASHINGTON, July 13.

To-day the city exhibited tokens in all directions of extreme solemnity. From every quarter the national colors were displayed at half-mast and draped in sable. The President's house, the various departments, and other public buildings were draped in black. On Penn-sylvania Avenue and many of the other streets the same sad ensigns were displayed. The cars from Baltimore. and the various steamboats and other bublic conveyances

to the departed chief. The troops were formed at 11 The senators were in attendance at half past ten o'clock. The usual badges of mourning were prepared at 11 o'clock. The Rev. Mr. Butler delivered an im-

The Senators then proceeded to the President's mansion, from whence the grand civil and military procession was to move, after performing the funeral obsequies. The Senate, on returning to the Senate chamber, ad-The same proceedings were had in the House.

The doors of the Executive mansion were opened at 9 clock for the admission of heads of Departments, foreign ministers, and others. The crowd filled up every avenue leading to the mansion, not appropriated to military and other bodies that were to take part in the procession. The members of the cabinet, the diplomatic corps, the pall bearers, and those members of the two houses of Congress who could be admitted, occupied the East room. Col. Bliss, Col. Taylor of Baltimore, and other relatives of the deceased, occupied positions next ter harvest as practicable. The price is now high, and to the remains. The foreign ministers ail appeared in

"Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, aged "LEAVING OFF SCHNAPPS."-"Vell, den Honnes, 1 66." The coffiin is a magnificent one. It is covered tells you how to do: You go and puy un parrel of viswith black velvet, the edges being of silver with huge key, an take it hum, and put a foshet in it, and vhenever silver tassels looped with gold-fringed buttons. The countenance of the deceased is unchanged, though much viskey as you draw off der foshet, shust so much vater emaciated. Mrs. Taylor would not consent to embalming the body. By request of the family, prayers were held over the remains this morning, when none but the immediate relatives were present. The coffin rested on a raised platform in the centre of the East room, envelope. oped with black crape.

As soon as all had assembled, Rev. Mr. Smith Pyne, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, performed the soldeavoring to draw on a new pair of boots, exclaimed, emn burial service during which many an eye was moistened. An eloquent discourse was delivered by the Rev. gentleman. The family of the deceased were within hearing distance of it. When he had concluded, the coffin was removed and placed upon the funeral car, near which the favorite war horse of the deceased was stand- look at that sign"—"J. E. Weller, Jeweller." ing. The funeral car was a plain hearse, under a raised

The procession moved at 2 o'clock, when minute guns were fired. The pall bearers were Messrs. Clay, Cass, Berrien, Wint op, Benton, Webster, and 14 others.— The troops were under command of Gen. Scott. The procession was one mile and a half long. Flowers were strewn along Pennsylvania Avenue for sevesal hundred yards from the White House. The civic procession has been estimated at 16,000, and the military at 900, besides 6 companies of artillery. There were 19 bands of music comprising hundreds of instruments. The effect along the Avenue was very fine.

Signor Fagnani, an Italian artist, yesterday took a sketch of the head and face of General Taylor, before he was placed in the coffin. No east was taken, the family being unwilling. Gen. Scott, when he arrived in the East room, wept over the body of his distinguished companion in arms. On arriving in front of the Congressional burying ground, the military escort were formed in two lines—the first, consisting of detachments to fire the last volley were facing the cemetery and three paces from it, and the second line, consisting of the remainder of the infantry in the escort, twenty paces in the rear. The battery of artillery took a position on the rising ground about 100 paces in the rear of the second

The burial ground at an early hour in the morning, was filled with thousands of people.

The funeral pageant was of the most impressive character. The mournful tone of the music, the solemn tread of the soldiery, the tolling of the bells, the booming of minute guns, filled all hearts with sorrow, and every one seemed to realize the fact that a great and good man had fallen. The body was received by the sexton of the burial ground. A national salute was fired as the property of the construction and management of Plank Roads, by Romer Dalk Owen, with an appendix containing the General Plank Road Laws of New York, Rentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, and the amendments thereto up to the session of 1849-50. Also, the opinion of Judge Gridley, of the New York Supreme Count, in the case of Benedict vs. Goit. Price 50 cents. For sale whole-sale or retail by

To-day, from noon to 3 P. M., all public buildings were closed. The flags were lowered at half mast and draped. The windows of the private buildings were covered with mourning, and from many of them the sable emblem protruded. Business generally, and work of almost every kind, were suspended. Many citizens wore badges of mourning on the left arm. The state house and church bells were rung, and half hour guns were fired. The flags on the shipping of all nations in port were flying at half mast. A general gloom pervaded every portion of the city.

The above property is situated on Fall Creek, one mile north of Indianapolis, and would be suitable for a machine or large cabinet shop. Address, N. WEST, post office, Indianapolis, Indiana.

DR. JOHNSON, his Religious Life and his Death. Just rejuryl?

No. 12, Washington street.

How to MAKE WHITEWASH .- As this is the season of the year for whitewashing, the Ohio Cultivator re-commends the following receipt for making a whitewash, which is said (in the Horticulturalist) to be of the best and most durable character: Take a barrel and slack one bushel of freshly burned

lime in it, by covering the lime with boiling water.

After it is slacked, add cold water enough to bring it to the consistency of good whitewash. Then dissolve in water, and add one pound of white vitriol (sulphate of zine) and one quart of fine salt. To give this wash a cream color, add one-half a pound of yellow ochre in powder. To give it a fawn color, add a pound of yellow ochre, and one-fourth of a

[From the Genesce Farmer.] Wheat Culture.

Sir Humphrey Davy says: "The exportation of grain guage, a common religion, a common history, and a common country; and the explosive force of civil war—treendous civil war, alone, can put us asunder. No, sir, long run;" and this illustrious chemist expresses the opinion that the present sterility of various parts of northern Africa and Asia Minor, as well as Sicily, is to which now bind us together as one people—the most prosperous and happy on earth—are choked with carnage and discolored with blood, will the demon of disunion flap his baleful wings and croak his discordant notes nion flap his baleful wings and croak his discordant notes. of fieadish joy over the rains of this glorious republic.

And, sir, if such a catastrophe should befail us, what would the future probably develop? Would there be a slaveholding and a non-slaveholding, a southern and slaveholding and a non-slaveholding, a southern and slaveholding and a non-slaveholding, a southern and slaveholding and a non-slaveholding. northern Confederacy, as has been supposed? Would this be the division? I think not, sir. This continent—
North America—displays very different geographical

North America—displays very different geographical leatures from those of Europe and Asia. We have here good crops of wheat every year for two centuries, on no great central mountains, like the Alps and the Himachs, emerging from their declivities the rivers, which, with guano. An interesting letter from Wm. G. Morewith their distinctive mountains, segregate both continents, and delineate correspondingly the political divisions of each. We have no such formation here. On the contrary, our continent, as a bowl, gathers to the Chili, which is about to be sent in the shape of flour, to centre what falls within its rim—the Alleghanies on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west; within which, and between them and the Atlantic ocean on one

"The harvest that has just been secured (I am in the lakes and the St. Lawrence river, to and from the man of high character, who is perfectly conversant with ceean. This would probably be the development of the future; but how long even this order of things would and vicinity, there are ten first rate flour mills, the mastand, no one can foretell; for here as elsewhere, and in other times, power—unbridled power—might overleap and, with the exception of two, are owned and managed the barriers of nature, and merge a continent in the unfathomable depths of despotism. This would be the work of another Alexander, Cæsar, or Napoleon, rusbing forth to set the new world on fire, and to snatch from the dissolving pile the flaming brand of conquest and by Americans and Englishmen. The average monthly product of these mills is about 30,000 bbls. of superfine thour for export, which, in quality, is regarded as being equal to the best flour manufactured in the United States. Between Conception and Santiago there are two good mills, which mauufacture for export some 4000 to 5000 But, sir, I will not pursue these speculations—God grant that they may never be realized. I have only purture two good mills, which manufacture for export some two good mills, which manufacture for export some fine flour for export, all of which must find markets in

In the poetic language of our countryman, Longfellow, let us all unite in the common anthem:

"The great fluctuations that have so frequently occurred in that market during the past year, the price of flour varying from less than the cost of placing it there to \$30, \$40, and even \$50 per barrel, having induced the millers to enter into the arrangement alluded to above, by which they (the millers) bind themselves to supply this company the entire product of their mills at the price of \$4,44 per barrel, delivered in the warehouse, for shipment. The company have a large and commo-dious warehouse at San Francisco, at which they are bound to keep a regular and constant supply of flour, adequate at all times to meet the demand, and to dispose of the same at a moderate profit—thus securing to the citizens of California a supply of the staff of life at

"The consumption of that market is estimated by these gentlemen to be not less than 25,000 barrels per month at present, calculating an increase to say 5000 barrels per month. I consider it important that the came crowded with people, anxious to pay a last tribute above facts should be generally known throughout the United States of America, that persons who may be induced (by the recent extravagant price of flour) to Camorma, can do so understandir

The Nicaragua treaty between England and the United States having for its object the construction of a ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific, will secure the speedy construction of that long talked of and magnificent work, and bring the guanoed wheat fields of Chili and Peru several thousand miles nearer the ports of Mobile, Savaneah, and Charleston, which import both northern flour from New York and western from New Orleans. We learn from the Journal of Commerce, that three ships laden with Egyptian wheat are on their way from Cairo to this country—the owners of this grain expecting to pay 20 cents a bushel duty on its admission. Wheat has been cheaper in England within the last six months than in one hundred and fifty years; and fair harvests this autumn in Europe, will reduce the market value of breadstuffs to a still lower figure. Wheat growers that have a surplus to sell will doubt-

must continue until new wheat is offered.

canopy, the American eagle being represented in the centre. It was drawn by eight white horses, with black tion, is that which he gives himself.

INDIANAPOLIS POST OFFICE.	
ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF THE MA	ILS.
EASTERN: Closes daily, at	5 P. M.
Arrives daily at	8 A. M.
CINCINNATI via Brockville: Closes Sundays, Tuesdays and	
Thursdays,	7 P. M
Arrives Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays,	6 P. M
CINCINNATI via Lawrenesburgh: Closes Tuesdays, Thurs-	
days and Saturdays,	7 P. M
Arrives Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays,	7 P. M.
Southern via Madison: Closes daily, except Sundays,	6 A. M
Arrives daily, except Sundays,	21 P. M
LEAVENWORTH via Eloomington: Closes Mondays, Wed-	200
days and Fridays,	7 A. M
Arrives Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays,	8 P. M
Western via Terre Haute: Closes daily,	BA. M
Arrives daily,	3 P. M
LAFAYETTE via Crawfordsville: Closes daily, at	1 P. M
Arrrives daily,	4 A. M.
LAFAYETTE via Lebanon: Closes Tuesdays and Fridays,	8 A. M
Arrives Mondays and Fridays,	6 P. M
NORTHERS via Logansport: Closes daily, except Sundays,	8 A. M
Arrives daily, except Sundays,	2 P. M.
GREENVILLE, O., via Winchester, Ia.: Closes on Sundays	- 10 35
and Wednesdays,	7 P. M
Arrives Wednesdays and Saturdays,	6 P. M
PENDLETON: Closes Thursdays,	8 A. M 4 P. M
Arrives Wednesdays,	BA. M
PERU via Tipton: Closes Tuesdays and Fridays,	6 P. M
Arrives Mondays and Fridays,	8 A. M
MONTEZUMA: Closes Tuesdays and Fridays	6 A. M.
Arrives Mondays and Friday Indianapolis, July 14, 1849. A. W. RUSSELL.	P. M.
Indunapous, July 14, 1849. A. W. RUSSELLI.	200

burial ground. A national salute was fired as the procession passed the City Hall, the Capitol, and the Navy Yard. Arriving at the burial ground, the Episcopal service was performed and another salute fired. The body was then placed in the receiving vault, and the crowd dispersed.

Mrs. Taylor did not accompany the procession. She will, to-morrow, visit the tomb in company with her family.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.

WOOL WANTED. The highest price in cash will be paid for Store, Indianapolis.

Indianapolis, April 2, 1850.

Rakes and Forks, for sale by HENRY S. KELLOGG ARDWARE AND CUTLERY.—350 doz. knives and Porks, consisting of Ivory, Self Tipted Bucks. Sham Buck, &c., for tale by junc1 HENRY S. KELLOGG.

SALT.—50 barrels No. 1 Kanawha Salt, just received and for sale FE10 CARRIAGE TRIMMERS.—2 bules picked and unpicked Moss of superior quality, for sale by HENRY S. KELLOGO. BACKING YARN AND BABBET METAL - Just recei

a heavy stock of Babbet Metal and Packing Yarn, of a very operior quality, which will be sold low for cash by june1 HENRY S. KELLOGG. pound of Indian red.

To make the wash a handsome grey stone color, add one-half a pound of French blue, and one-fourth of a pound of Indian red; a drah will be made by adding one half pound of sienna, and one-fourth pound of Venitian

The Ladies.—New style "Jenuy Lind" Charcoal Iron half pound of sienna, and one-fourth pound of Venitian

Furnace suitable for cooking and ironing, for sale by juyl6

For brick or stone, instead of one bushel of lime, take MITH & HANNA have just received a fine lot of 5 ping Virball bushel hydraulic coment.

Vele President's Message, Aug., 1846: Ist session 29th Congress,
 tVide Congressional Globe, 1st session, 29th Congress 1845-6; p.
 1217. also House Journal, 1845-6, p. 1211.